

PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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SIXPENCE

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BERTRAND RUSSELL APPEALS

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The organisers of the demonstration, the Committee of 100, are urging committed volunteers to contact them as soon as possible.

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The Committee's address is: 13 Goodwin St., London, N.4 (ARCHway 1239).

War resisters meeting in India

WAR resisters from many parts of the world have been gathering in India in the last few days for the War Resisters' International triennial conference.

Last weekend they stayed at a Government guest house in Madras, and were taken on extensive tours by Government coach.

On Monday night they left by train for Gandhigram, the conference location. This provided the opportunity for long talks between Danilo Dolci, the Italian social reformer, and PN editor Hugh Brock, who cabled:

Danilo Dolci would like to explore the possibility of closer association between non-violent action groups and national committees supporting his work in Sicily.

The train arrived at about 7 a.m. on Tuesday at Madurai, where we were guests of Gandhi Museum officials. During a nine-hour conducted tour of the Museum, conference delegates were much moved by many fine quotations from Gandhi accompanying the frescoes and sculptures, but almost universal among Western delegates was anxiety lest Gandhi was being enshrined in museums and public buildings.

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Photo: Will Green

Delegates off to India last Friday for the War Resisters' International conference. In this London Airport picture from top to bottom, left to right, are: Pierre Martin (France), Joyce Runham Brown (England), Danilo Dolci (Sicily), Stuart Morris (England), Niels Jonassen (Denmark), Alois Stoff (Germany), Elizabeth Bing (England), Hans Wuwer (Germany), Harold Bing (England), Tony Smythe (England) with open collar, Bayard Rustin (USA) in white shirt, Hugh Brock (England), Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany), James Strachan (England), Hein van Wijk (Holland) in beret, Bill Sutherland (Ghana), Trefor Davies (England), Hagbard Jonassen (Denmark), and Niels Mathiesen (Norway).

INSIDE LABOUR MPs and THE BOMB

How they voted last week,
with extracts from
the speeches and motions
pages five and seven

INTEGRATING NEW ORLEANS

The struggle for desegregation
of the schools is discussed
by Jim Peck in his
"Letter from America"

page four

PEACE NEWS

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My five steps to save the Congo

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THERE is grave danger that the Congo may become for Africa what the Spanish civil war was for Europe: a battleground between the two Power blocs. At an earlier stage Russia was at fault. It gave unilateral aid to Lumumba. Now America is at fault. It is giving aid to Col. Mobuto. Belgium has been at fault all through, aiding Tshombe and Col. Mobuto.

The one hope of neutralising the Congo was the strict refusal of aid to either side by one Power or group of Powers and the channelling of all aid through the United Nations.

I hear from New York that Hammarskjöld is now despairing. He deeply deplores the material support which America and Belgium are affording Col. Mobuto. The Colonel's forces could not last a week were it not for financial aid received from these sources. This is being done after the United Nations representative in India had strongly criticised the role of Col. Mobuto, a protest which was ignored by America and the West.

The danger is that intervention by the West and the East will now become extended and open, that the forces which back Lumumba will be mobilised at Stanleyville, the forces on the side of Col. Mobuto (and in the background Kasavubu) at Leopoldville, with the Belgians aiding Leopoldville behind Tshombe in Katanga.

In this situation the sympathy and, in some cases, the active support of the Afro-Asian nations will inevitably be given to Stanleyville. One after another the neutralist and Afro-Asian Governments are withdrawing their troops from the United Nations forces because the recognition of Kasavubu, the failure to protect Lumumba, and acquiescence (however unwilling) in American and Belgian help to Col. Mobuto and Tshombe are now weighting UN influence on the side of Leopoldville.

World War III?

Dr. Nkrumah has made the proposal that the African nations should unite their forces under an African High Command. It is possible that African forces may move into Stanleyville from Cairo through the

the United Nations to be used in co-operation with the Government. This involves the withdrawal of unilateral Belgian military and administrative personnel and of unilateral American financial support for any non-governmental forces.

5. The United Nations, whose troops first went to the Congo pledged to support a Government appointed by the elected Parliament, should recognise its authority and its delegation at the UN.

If the conditions for the application of these principles are to be realised, they must be conveyed firmly to the rival leaders. This might best be done by inviting them to meet representatives of the United Nations, who should be mainly African, either in an African country or at New York itself.

Kasavubu and Tshombe would undoubtedly raise the issue of autonomy for Katanga and the coastal region. Lumumba has indicated that he is ready to reconsider the relationship of the regions to the centre, and this could well be dealt with at a constitutional conference following the reassembly of Parliament.

The intervention of the Cold War into the struggle for national freedoms is not confined to the Congo. It has burst dangerously into Laos, where American military aid has assisted the overthrow of the neutralist Government, and Russian and Chinese aid is being given to the forces supporting the Government. Civil war is fiercely mounting, and Thailand, protégé of America and Communist North Viet Nam, are becoming involved. Before we know where we are, a wide area of South East Asia may become an East-West battleground.

There is the same danger in Algeria. President de Gaulle can now have no illusions; the unexpected mass support of the FLN by the Moslems of Algiers shows that there can be no hope of peace except by negotiation with Ferhat Abbas and the Provisional Algerian Government. And if peace does not come, Russia and China

wish to God we had a Government in Britain which would dare to break from the fatal course of the West and identify itself with the cause of national freedom, whether in the Congo, Laos, Algeria—wherever it is threatened—so fully that Africa and Asia could see that other than Communist Governments were on their side. If Britain did this, I believe it would rally not only the neutralist nations, but the many Governments in Europe and the Americas which still have some international sense.

And behind all this is a still greater danger, the danger that the conflicts over Africa and Asia may lead to another world war.

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SCHOOLBOYS TO SEE 'SCIENCE FOR LIFE'

THIS year in London, among the blandishments of military circumstance and technology, the boys who go to the National Schoolboys Own Exhibition at Olympia will notice a satellite apparently in orbit over a stand marked boldly "Science for Life."

They will pass through a section called "Power," complete with a working solar battery, and sections marked "Life," with current biology throbbing away, magnified and illuminated; "Health," with present UN agencies activity and War on Want, and "Rockets," with a working model of a launching site.

All along the way they will be reminded by expert voices (Alex Comfort directing), and photographs, of the choice they will have to make between using science, in particular nuclear physics, for positive or for negative purposes. They will see the results of the misuse to date by their

repair a antique and valuable clocks and new make a speciality of this. We collect and deliver in the Provinces as well as in the London area. Aubrey Brocklehurst, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. EUSTON 5501.

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MEET INTERESTING PEOPLE through informal hospitality of the Marriage Club. Both London and country members invited. Mrs. Prue White, 14 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

PACIFISTS working in the City are asked to send their names to the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee who need their help. Secretary: 6, Apollo Place, S.W.10. Tel.: FLA 7906.

PEACE NEWS AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP welcome visitors 9.30 to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal-commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

YOUNG MAN (30) would appreciate kind offer Christmas/New Year hospitality. England or Europe. Suggestions welcomed. Box 867.

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VOLUNTARY HELPERS urgently needed at Peace News office for Christmas card fund-raising work. Hours—Tues. and Thurs. 9.30-6 p.m. Mon., Wed., and Fri. 9.30-9 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1 (TERminus 8248.)

Asian nations will inevitably be given to Stanleyville. One after another the neutralist and Afro-Asian Governments are withdrawing their troops from the United Nations forces because the recognition of Kasavubu, the failure to protect Lumumba, and acquiescence (however unwilling) in American and Belgian help to Col. Mobutu and Tshombe are now weighting UN influence on the side of Leopoldville.

World War III?

Dr. Nkrumah has made the proposal that the African nations should unite their forces under an African High Command. It is possible that African forces may move into Stanleyville from Cairo through the Sudan, armed by Russia, possibly with Russian personnel. If this happens, the Congo may precede a Third World War just as Spain preceded the Second World War.

Frankly, heavy responsibility for this critical situation rests with the West, with America and Belgium in the first instance, supported by France and subservient Britain.

The West is driving Asia and Africa towards Russia and the Communist bloc. They go reluctantly. The Afro-Asian group stood for United Nations action against Khrushchev at the beginning. Even last week they acted independently in putting forward their own declaration against colonialism (an affirmation which deserves to be bracketed with the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights), and the extreme, unrealistic resolution sponsored by Russia was defeated.

The Afro-Asian nations are profoundly neutralist and do not want to be identified with either of the Power blocs. But the West is thrusting them away, thrusting them to common action with Russia.

The one hope is that even at this late hour some voices in the United Nations, still centred in the Afro-Asian group and dependent upon its leadership, will initiate action to save the situation. There are five steps which should be taken:

1. Patrice Lumumba, who was appointed Prime Minister by the elected Parliament of the Congo, must be released.
2. The Parliament must meet, with freedom to decide who shall compose its Government.
3. The self-appointed command of the Congo forces by Col. Mobutu must be replaced by a Command appointed by the Government and responsible to it.
4. All military, administrative, technical or financial aid must be given through

neutralist Government, and Russian and Chinese aid is being given to the forces supporting the Government. Civil war is fiercely mounting, and Thailand, protégé of America and Communist North Viet Nam, are becoming involved. Before we know where we are, a wide area of South East Asia may become an East-West battleground.

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Many of us have been striving to help save the new nations and the peoples struggling for colonial freedom from involvement in the conflict between East and West. The new nations themselves and the nationalist movements have striven to remain free. It will be almost the final disaster if they become committed.

But we must frankly acknowledge that dominant influences in the West, as well as the eagerness of the East to exploit the situation, are driving history to this end. I



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, December 23

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. to 12. St. Pancras Town Hall, CND Christmas dance: Humphrey Lyttelton and his band; Anthony Parr and jazz orpheans. Tickets 10s. adults, 6s. YCND members; from CND, 2 Carthusian St., E.C.1.

Sunday, December 25

LIVERPOOL: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Warrington. Details from 2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1.

Monday, December 26

WARRINGTON, Lancs.: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Manchester.

Tuesday, December 27

MANCHESTER: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Huddersfield.

Wednesday, December 28

HUDDERSFIELD: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Barnsley.

Thursday, December 29

BARNESLEY, Yorks.: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Doncaster.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Group discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

Friday, December 30

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 58 Archfield Road, Cotham. Win Peters at home to combined PPU groups. Bristol Central PPU.

DONCASTER: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Goole.

stand marked boldly "Science for Life."

They will pass through a section called "Power," complete with a working solar battery, and sections marked "Life," with current biology throbbing away, magnified and illuminated; "Health," with present UN agencies activity and War on Want, and "Rockets," with a working model of a launching site.

All along the way they will be reminded by expert voices (Alex Comfort directing), and photographs, of the choice they will have to make between using science, in particular nuclear physics, for positive or for negative purposes. They will see the results of the misuse to date by their bungling elders, and glimpses of the possibilities within their reach of redeeming the situation. At the end will be a table of literature and facts for thought and action.

The Friends Peace Committee has been able to organise this stand, with the generous help of War on Want and other committed bodies. Norman Frith and Ron Ingles are the architects, and the scientific direction is by Jack Mongar.

The Exhibition opens on Tuesday, December 27, and will last until Saturday, January 7 (Sunday January 1 excepted).

Saturday, December 31

GOOLE: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Hesselwood.

Sunday, January 1

HELSEWOOD: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Hull. Details from 2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1.

Thursday, January 5

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Denys Player "Portuguese Notebook," E.10 and E.11 PPU.

Saturday, January 7

LONDON, S.W.1: 7 to 10.30 p.m. St. Saviour's Church Hall, St. George's Sq. New Year Social. Westminster CND.

Tuesday, January 10

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. Conway Hall, Holborn. Debate: "Is World Government the Way Out?" Yes—Paul Winner; No—J. Allen Skinner. SPES.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. 360 Crookesmoor Rd. Non-violence discussion group No. 4. Sheffield PPU.



Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

UPHAUS FREED TAX-REFUSERS TO VISIT TREASURY

ON December 11 Dr. Willard Uphaus, 70-year-old Methodist lay preacher and pacifist was released from the county jail in Boscawen, New Hampshire, after serving one year's sentence on a charge of contempt.

In 1954 Dr. Uphaus had directed a World Fellowship Summer Conference at Conway, New Hampshire, to "help solve the problems of war, hunger, disease, poverty and bigotry." He refused to provide a list of the guests at the Conference for the Attorney General of New Hampshire who suspected some of them of being Communists. The case dragged through the courts until he was sentenced last December.

Dr. Uphaus, the *New York Times* (Dec. 13) reported, was fit and well after his release, and thanked the prison authorities for the reasonable treatment he had received. He said that he was grateful also for the backing of several organisations during his stand, and for the "strong support of the religious press, the editorial backing of many of America's great dailies, and the help of numerous liberal weekly and monthly journals."

In a written statement issued from his home in New Haven he said: "Our problem as a people is not to permit agencies in our Federal and state governments, on the pretext of security, to keep us cowed and in ignorance, or to cover up for those who use 'cold war' hysteria to protect their vested interests."

"I bear no ill will toward anyone," Willard Uphaus told reporters, "I still believe I did the only thing that I could honourably have done, given my Christian philosophy of life and my loyalty to our Bill of Rights."

THE BEST LAID SCHEMES

UNFORTUNATELY one of the best laid schemes went agly when after all arrangements had been made for 68 members to go by charter plane to the WRI Conference at the Gandhigram (India), the charter company withdrew



JOHN ARDEN, the playwright, is among the latest to join the signatories to the tax refusers' declaration. This now has 20 supporters and is being organised by the Committee Against Tax for Nuclear Arms (CATNA), a subgroup of the Direct Action Committee.

The tax refusers' declaration will be delivered next Friday, December 30, by playwright Arnold Wesker and jazz singer George Melly to the Permanent Joint-Secretary at the Treasury. Volunteers to join this demonstration at 11 a.m. in Whitehall are being asked to contact CATNA at STAMford Hill 7062 (344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.)

The Committee is also drawing up a petition to be presented to various MPs

The march to Moscow

THIS morning (Friday) the San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Walkers will be somewhere between Redlands and Phoenix, Arizona, in the 2,968-mile first phase of their march from San Francisco to Chicago.

Purpose of the Transcontinental Walk for Peace is to bring the message of unilateral disarmament and non-violence to as wide an audience as possible, including Communist countries. The group will ask the people of each nation to call on their governments to be the first to disarm, without waiting for agreements with other countries, before the world is consumed in nuclear holocaust brought about by the armament race.

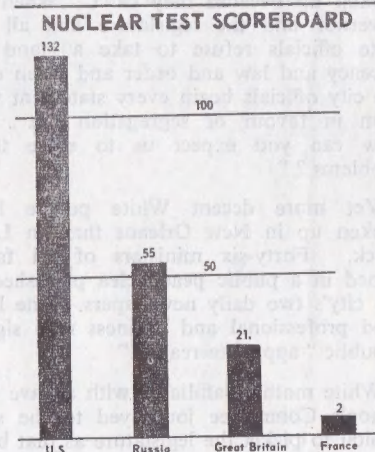
During the US phase of the walk events will include picketing military installations and industries, public meetings and peace education work with local peace groups. In Europe the team is expected to join direct action pacifist organisations in peace walks and other anti-war activities.

The walk team does not intend to engage in civil disobedience in America, although individuals so moved may do so

urging them to help get legislation introduced to provide a conscience clause for people taxed on Pay As You Earn. It is further drawing up a declaration for people on PAYE who wish to covenant their money to charities and thus help avoid paying taxes.

Two local deputations about taxes for nuclear weapons are also being organised. On January 2 the London County Council Finance Officer will be visited by five LCC employees—Philip and Pat O'Connell, Ken and Anna Newton and Mrs. Palmer. If he will not see them, they will take their case to the local authority finance committee.

A similar deputation to the Surrey CC Finance Officer by social worker Freda Hudson and Winifred Marsh, a teacher, is planned for next Thursday, December 29.



This graph from the U.S. magazine Fellowship shows the number of nuclear tests made by the Great Powers. The USA is 54 tests ahead of the rest of the world and has made more than twice as many tests as the next nation. NATO-politans together have done three

By Sybil Morrison

Christmas Peace

"Life has always been hurried and full of difficulty. This time of rest has been a great mercy . . . I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone."—Edith Cavell, October 11, 1915.

FORTY-FIVE years ago the woman who wrote those words as a last message was shot at dawn for assisting "the enemy." She has come down to history as the personification of human mercy, overriding even patriotism.

I am reminded of her words because at this time of year there is no sense of rest, or of peace; this so-called season of goodwill is "hurried and full of difficulty"; on every side words of irritation and ill-temper fall upon the ear; traffic problems, crowded transport, late trains, delayed letters, unwanted gifts, lack of time, are the targets for frustration and anger.

Christmas, which was once the symbol of Christian hope and belief in peace on earth and "good will toward men," is now a time of struggle and difficulty in personal matters, and certainly brings no truce to the nations' conflicts.



When the Germans and the British, facing each other in their mud-logged trenches in 1914, remembered that it was the season of good will, threw down their guns and grenades, scrambled unarmed from their dug-outs and their ditches to shake hands, sing carols and wish each other "the compliments of the season," they were moved by an emotion far more powerful than patriotism or even Christianity; it was not Christianity that touched their hearts, but nostalgia.

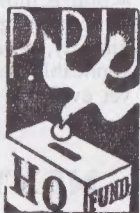
The remembrance of Christmas trees, of stockings hanging at the foot of cots and little beds, of bright fires and drawn curtains, of families gathering round the table, swept aside all feelings of enmity and hatred. This was "a time of rest" in

unfortunately have done, given my Christian philosophy of life and my loyalty to our Bill of Rights."

THE BEST LAID SCHEMES

UNFORTUNATELY

one of the best laid schemes went agly when after all arrangements had been made for 68 members to go by charter plane to the WRI Conference at the Gandhigram (India), the charter company withdrew their aircraft.



We were all very sorry indeed for the serious inconvenience and great disappointment caused to members who had been looking forward for months to the visit to India, and the WRI Executive did everything possible to find another plane.

In the end it became necessary to get as many as possible of the speakers, members of International Council and official delegates to the Conference by ordinary planes at a considerably increased cost.

I am very glad to say that plans for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund have not gone astray and that owing to the generosity of several friends who have sent in their Christmas gifts we have just reached our aim of £1,250 as I write.

But please, please, please do not let this stop you sending your Christmas gift. £1,250 is the minimum, not the maximum, and now we need to help to find the extra money which the India Conference will cost, as well as look forward to the serious additional expense involved in the Pacifist Fort-night Campaign 1961.

So with gratitude for the amount already received, in the name of peace and goodwill, and as an encouragement to the work planned for 1961, do send something this Christmas to help the PPU Headquarters Fund reach a record total.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

munist countries. The group will ask the people of each nation to call on their governments to be the first to disarm, without waiting for agreements with other countries, before the world is consumed in nuclear holocaust brought about by the armament race.

During the US phase of the walk events will include picketing military installations and industries, public meetings and peace education work with local peace groups. In Europe the team is expected to join direct action pacifist organisations in peace walks and other anti-war activities.

The walk team does not intend to engage in civil disobedience in America, although individuals so moved may do so by withdrawing from the group. The European team, however, will be committed in principle to enter certain countries peacefully but illegally if efforts to achieve legal entry have been exhausted. Previous experience in civil disobedience is a prior consideration for membership in this phase of the walk.

Among the walkers are:

Bradford Lyttle, 32, of Chicago and New York, National Secretary of CNVA. A graduate of Chicago University, he has served two federal prison terms—for conscientious objection to military conscription and for committing civil disobedience during the course of a non-violent direct action project at Omaha, Nebraska.

Scott Herrick, 35, of New York. A navy veteran, he committed civil disobedience last year in New York's annual Civil Defence Drill. During the past summer he captained the sloop Satyagraha in Polaris Action in New London.

Julius Jacobs, 27, of New York. An army veteran and graduate of Hunter College, he committed civil disobedience during the 1960 Civil Defence drill and several times during Polaris Action. He is a writer.

Joseph M. Glynn, Jr., 28, of Somerville, Mass. A former Petty Officer in the US Navy, is a graduate of Boston University. He was arrested twice during Polaris Action and has committed civil disobedience three times in protest against Polaris submarines.

Before the walk started, CNVA received the following cable: "Warmest good wishes to valiant marchers across two continents. Congratulations on courage and determination. If younger would accompany them.—Bertrand Russell."



This graph from the U.S. magazine Fellowship shows the number of nuclear tests made by the Great Powers. The USA is 54 tests ahead of the rest of the world and has made more than twice as many tests as the next nation. NATO-politans together have done three times as much blasting as the USSR. Yet the USA alone seeks to end the temporary cessation of testing.

Germ war exhibit in USA

A MOBILE Germ Warfare Exhibit has been making its appearance in US towns, and the US war department has been sending speakers to colleges and business men's groups to promote acceptance of germ-gas warfare.

The exhibition includes paintings which depict the troops of Alexander the Great catapulting the body of a disease victim over the wall of a besieged city. "Biological warfare," says the caption, "has been attempted in the past."

The group of American pacifists who have been picketing the germ warfare station at Fort Detrick, Maryland, for the past 16 months are collecting information about counter exhibitions which are being prepared.

Their headquarters are at 326 West Patrick Street, Frederick, Maryland.

The vigilers are joining with other organisations in a conference on non-violence for college students at the Hotel Frederick from Dec. 30 to Jan. 1.

The USA is expanding its germ-gas warfare programme from \$70,000,000 to \$76,000,000 and it will rise to 200,000,000 in seven to eight years.

each other in their mud-logged trenches in 1914, remembered that it was the season of good will, threw down their guns and grenades, scrambled unarmed from their dug-outs and their ditches to shake hands, sing carols and wish each other "the compliments of the season," they were moved by an emotion far more powerful than patriotism or even Christianity; it was not Christianity that touched their hearts, but nostalgia.

The remembrance of Christmas trees, of stockings hanging at the foot of cots and little beds, of bright fires and drawn curtains, of families gathering round the table, swept aside all feelings of enmity and hatred. This was "a time of rest," in which the good in every man had a chance to come alive, and it is this the world lacks today.

Compared with the disasters of war, or the tragedies so recently of two aeroplane crashes, and set alongside the grief and agony of the bereaved, the ill-temper engendered by human failings and impossible pressures seems completely wrong and wholly regrettable; but the truth is that Christmas has, in fact, lost its meaning.



Take a look at the shops where toys are on display and it is possible to find that there are more model guns and rockets, more submarines and tanks, more armies and navies than objects of fun, games and handiwork. Many toys are concerned with making it possible for the child, with his own hands, to build a launching site, or a submarine; no one seems to ask what this has to do with good will or the so-called Christmas spirit.

It is true "life is hurried and difficult"; we all know that; we all need time occasionally for rest and for peaceful thought, but we surely need not await execution in a prison cell before we strive to achieve it.

I would like to change the whole conception of Christmas as it is today, with its hurry and crowding, its competition and commercialisation. I would like children to have the fun of presents, but to know it belongs only to childhood, for gifts should come from the heart, not from necessity.

I would like everyone to be with whom they most want to be, and give only to those whom they love; I would like there to be kindness to those who are alone, and that in this little pocket of time, suspended between the rush and hurry of every day life, we should indulge in quiet remembrance of past happiness and cheerful grasping of today's; such peace and joy is my wish for all who read this column.

HOW DID YOUR LABOUR MP

VOTE?

An Editorial

THIS is by far the most important immediate question arising from last week's House of Commons "defence" debate.

On the opposite page we publish the names of all those Labour Members of Parliament accounted for by the voting records or by the press. It deserves very careful attention.

This vote was of great importance because it showed more clearly than any number of election promises and carefully-worded assurances where Labour MPs stand.

First we list all those supporting the Gaitskell-Brown motion. It should be remembered that they were voting for a more efficient NATO.

★

Next comes a sizeable group of MPs who made a public demonstration of their abstention by remaining in their seats during the count.

Finally, there are about a score of Members unaccounted for. What happened to them? Were they present for the debate? Were they abstaining without being counted by the press?

We suggest that every *Peace News* reader should now be writing to his Labour MP. If he voted for NATO, we should want to know why. If his convictions were not demonstrated, we should want to know why—and what they are. If he publicly abstained, we suggest he deserves congratulations and encouragement. We should recognise that it takes determination to sit down and be counted.

The struggle for the schools of New Orleans

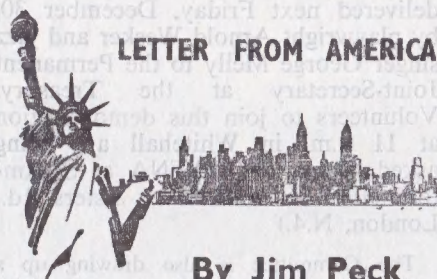
SINCE mid-November the name of New Orleans has overshadowed the name of Little Rock as a world symbol of racism in the southern United States. People the world over have seen newspaper or TV photos of the hate-filled faces of White extremists surrounding the two schools to which four little Negro girls have been admitted.

Some of these photos depict the courageous White minister, Rev. Floyd Foreman, and the staunch wife of a White gas-meter reader, Mrs. James Gabrielle, jeered at and threatened with assault as they escorted their children through the segregationist mobs. Mr. Gabrielle was ultimately forced to quit his job. The father of one of the Negro girls was fired from his job as gas station attendant after four and a half years' of service. White parents who dare send their children to the two integrated schools are threatened repeatedly by personal visits and phone calls.

"It is a shame that we let this element speak for us," Rev. Foreman commented. The explanation is, says a New Orleans priest: "The decent people here haven't spoken up because they can't. When the governor and the legislature and all the state officials refuse to take a stand for decency and law and order and when even the city officials begin every statement with 'I'm in favour of segregation but . . .', how can you expect us to solve these problems?"

Yet more decent White people have spoken up in New Orleans than in Little Rock. Forty-six ministers of all faiths joined in a public peace plea published in the city's two daily newspapers. One hundred professional and business men signed a public "appeal to reason."

White mothers affiliated with a Save Our Schools Committee journeyed to the state capital to picket the legislature as that body started the first of its special sessions to enact state laws nullifying federal school integration rulings (all these laws have been held unconstitutional by the federal courts). This same Committee, despite continued threats of violence, has offered a car service



LETTER FROM AMERICA

By Jim Peck

to any parents wishing to return their children to the two integrated schools despite the segregationist boycott.

"What is happening is not typical at all of this city or the people," says Mrs. Mary Sand, who heads the Committee. She is right. New Orleans with its French traditional background, is more broad-minded than the average Deep-South city. Its attitude is like that of Mrs. Sand's committee: not pro-integration but anti-closed schools and anti-defiance of law.

'Nigger-lovers'

Its people demonstrated this only a week before the scheduled school integration when they elected to the school board a man with this viewpoint in preference to his three opponents. The mayor and police, though certainly not pro-integration, have been denounced as "nigger-lovers" by the ultra-segregationists for having taken a firm stand against the hate-mobs.

If the majority of New Orleans people feel this way, then how can mob terror prevail? Claude Sitton of *The New York Times* answered this question clearly: "There is fear of the White Citizens Councils, whose opponents often find themselves referred to as Communists. There is fear of being labelled an integrationist, with a possible loss of business, social status and friends. On the other hand, no stigma is attached to the White supre-

school integration, John Garrett, a state congressman and likely gubernatorial candidate, declared: "This is total war in many respects. We must use every weapon at our command."

Talking in a more rabble-rousing vein, Leander Perez, a local district attorney and a power in the White Citizens Councils, told the rally: "Don't wait for your daughter to be raped by these Congolese. Don't wait until the burrheads are forced into your schools. Do something about it!"

It was after this rally that a teenage mob accompanied by some adults rampaged through the city's downtown area in the most widespread outbreak of violence during the crisis period.

Critical point

As I write the critical point of the New Orleans crisis is past. A few more White children have returned to the two integrated schools. But the segregationist boycott is still keeping most of them away. The situation is far from resolved. Governor Jimmie Davis is playing the same leading role as did Governor Orval Faubus in Little Rock. It took several years for Governor Faubus to declare a cease-fire in his civil war, and even today there is only token integration in Little Rock's schools.

It is six and a half years since the US Supreme Court outlawed school segregation. "But the snail's pace at which integration is being achieved," editorialised the influential Louisville *Courier-Journal*, "makes the bitterness of younger Negroes understandable and does nothing to persuade them that the rule of law is superior to the rule of demonstration."

By "rule of demonstration," the editorial referred to the student sit-ins which have desegregated lunch counters in 130 Southern cities in less than a year. What the editorial is saying is: one can't blame the Negroes for concluding that non-violent action is more effective than court decisions in combating racial discrimination. Unfortunately, a technique of non-violent action applicable to the school situation has not yet evolved.

NEXT WEEK IN PN

We suggest that every *Peace News* reader should now be writing to his Labour MP. If he voted for NATO, we should want to know why. If his convictions were not demonstrated, we should want to know why—and what they are. If he publicly abstained, we suggest he deserves congratulations and encouragement. We should recognise that it takes determination to sit down and be counted.

Before the referendum

IN spite of the riots and killings and the inauspicious ending of President de Gaulle's visit to Algeria, his journey has produced one favourable result.

It is no longer possible for him or for anyone else to persist in the illusion that the Algerian Liberation Front is a negligible minority, unfit to be taken seriously, whose demands do not represent the feeling and aspirations of the mass of Algerian Muslims.

In so far as their early ovations to de Gaulle were genuine and spontaneous—some were not above suspicion of having been stage-managed—they were a fervent welcoming gesture for the best possible co-fighter against the French settlers' *Algérie Française*. But that this does not mean friendship for de Gaulle "all along the line" any more than unity between Russia and the West meant friendship beyond the attainment of German defeat, soon became evident.

Muslim claims

The first welcoming assemblies were followed by demonstrations and processions in all the bigger towns, in which the Muslims made their own claims perfectly clear. They proclaimed their solidarity with the Algerian Liberation Front in the banners they were carrying and in shouts for *Muslim Algeria*—not for the de Gaulle *Algérie Algérienne*. Faced thus with the most blatant rejection of his "midway" programme by the Muslims as well as the French settlers, the President cut his journey short and returned to Paris, still grimly determined to carry out his plans.

The first item on his programme was the broadcast scheduled for December 20, the text of which was not yet available as PN

joined in a public peace plea published in the city's two daily newspapers. One hundred professional and business men signed a public "appeal to reason."

White mothers affiliated with a Save Our Schools Committee journeyed to the state capital to picket the legislature as that body started the first of its special sessions to enact state laws nullifying federal school integration rulings (all these laws have been held unconstitutional by the federal courts). This same Committee, despite continued threats of violence, has offered a car service

went to press; the second, the referendum in both Algeria and France on January 6, 7 and 8.

Neither is likely to bring any great change in the situation. The broadcast, according to early reports, was to be one more explanation of the President's policy—reasonably certain to amount to yet another appeal for national unity. The only factor which could have made it sensational would have been if it had contained a direct or implied threat of resignation in the event of the referendum bringing a result contrary to the President's plans.

The referendum itself is now reported to ask for nothing more than Yes or No to a request that the President should be given a mandate "to negotiate a peace with the FLN leaders." Worded as vaguely as this, it can hardly lead to a setback for de Gaulle, even if the Muslims in Algeria boycott it as their leaders in Tunis advise them to do.

The de Gaulle referendum is nothing like the one demanded by the FLN leaders. What they want is a plebiscite supervised by the United Nations, in which the people are to say what kind of government and relationship with France they want. In this they have the support of all the Afro-Asian nations (and some others), as evidenced in the Political Committee discussions of the United Nations, which began on December 5 at the request of 25 Asian and African delegations in the deliberate absence of the French representatives.

And on December 14 Mr. David Ormsby Gore, British Minister of State, announced his intention of voting against the Afro-Asian proposals. Not very creditable nor very far-seeing, but true.

ROY SHERWOOD

his three opponents. The mayor and police, though certainly not pro-integration, have been denounced as "nigger-lovers" by the ultra-segregationists for having taken a firm stand against the hate-mobs.

If the majority of New Orleans people feel this way, then how can mob terror prevail? Claude Sitton of *The New York Times* answered this question clearly: "There is fear of the White Citizens Councils, whose opponents often find themselves referred to as Communists. There is fear of being labelled an integrationist, with a possible loss of business, social status and friends. On the other hand, no stigma is attached to the White supremacist."

Most guilty for the New Orleans outbreak are city and state units of the White Citizens Councils, a south-wide ultra-segregationist organisation. It includes a number of leading businessmen and politicians and spawns hatred among the poor Whites whose only claim of status is their imagined superiority to Negroes. By means of hate orations at mass rallies the White Citizens Councils incited the mob action in New Orleans.

At one such rally on the second day of

suade them that the rule of law is superior to the rule of demonstration." By "rule of demonstration," the editorial referred to the student sit-ins which have desegregated lunch counters in 130 Southern cities in less than a year. What the editorial is saying is: one can't blame the Negroes for concluding that non-violent action is more effective than court decisions in combating racial discrimination. Unfortunately, a technique of non-violent action applicable to the school situation has not yet evolved.

NEXT WEEK IN PN

J. Allen Skinner will be reviewing 1960—the year in which the development of weaponry took precedence over everything else, even Africa. Christopher Farley will be resuming his regular column next week by discussing some of the hopeful developments in the past twelve months.

More terrible details of South Africa's slave labour racket will be revealed by Keith L. Lye, who has been studying the sworn affidavits sent to Mr. Hammarskjöld. And Irene Beeson will be discussing relations between Israel and the Arab world.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Evidence of torture

THE case of Mlle. Djemila Boupacha, who had complained of particularly odious forms of torture and violence applied to her during interrogations in a "sorting camp" near Algiers at the beginning of the year, was transferred from the Algiers investigating magistrates to those of Caen, in Normandy.

She was taken to Paris for medical examination on the initiative of her counsel. The medical experts named by the Paris court submitted their report last Friday—and their conclusions are in accordance with her statement about what was done to her.

A nuclear 'improvement'

CALIFORNIUM weapons are a great "improvement" on uranium and plutonium. It is so potent that rifle, machine-gun and even pistol bullets con-

taining it will possess the force of 10 tons of TNT (i.e., a World War II blockbuster).

Commented the *Daily Mail* on December 16: "So far there has been some distinction between nuclear and conventional forces. But what difference will there be when an 'orthodox' soldier can pull a revolver out of its holster and knock a street down?"



The United States last Friday approved a loan of \$5,200,000 (about £1,800,000) for the conversion of facilities at the Pakistan ordnance factory at Wah for non-military commercial production under the "swords for ploughshares" project.

In the Congo United Nations officers reported last week that 300,000 refugees are starving to death in South Kasai, the "diamond state." Mortality is at the rate of 200 cases a day.

February sit-down

THE news that the Committee of 100 will undertake its first civil disobedience project in February on the occasion of the arrival of the depot ship of Polaris in the Holy Loch is most welcome.

Many officers and supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups are already members of the Committee and a great many more will be taking part in the demonstration on February 18.

May I appeal to as many Campaigners as possible to join us in London on this date and help swell the number taking part in this non-violent civil disobedience against the madness of Polaris to well over 2,000.

Because of past misrepresentations, I think that it is very necessary to emphasise the feeling of friendship by Campaigners towards the Committee of 100, and although I appeal in a personal capacity, as Chairman of the Southern Council for Nuclear Disarmament, I know the interest and respect individual CND groups have for the organisation. I hope that the response will be overwhelming.—AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, 4 Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts.

Point of no return

From Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall

I AM most grateful for your generous review of my book MEN OF DESTINY. I wrote it as a contribution to the cause of sanity in defence and to draw attention to the grave risks we now run through this nuclear nonsense. When three publishers turned it down I decided to take the risk of publishing it myself. Somewhat to my gratified astonishment it has received a large number of press notices all—so far—exceedingly favourable.

It is not however easy to market a book if one has no sales organisation, although I managed to dispose of the first 2,000 within a week of publication. I do not ask

your readers to buy the book—most intelligent thinkers on defence are hard up. But if they believe that the flattering remarks of the critics are justified they can help me to publicise this cautionary tale by asking for it at their public libraries.—(Cdr. Sir) STEPHEN KING-HALL, 162 Buckingham Palace Rd., London, S.W.1.

The Soviet Union in transition

I HAVE read with great interest the articles on Russia by Sidney Lens (PN, November 25-December 9), and my only criticism is that they were so brief. I would like the writer to expand these articles into a book or pamphlet, as I am certain that it is ignorance of life in Russia that is the cause of so much distrust of, and antagonism to, Communism.

As an anarchist I hold no brief for any form of dictatorship or authoritarianism, but the fact remains that the Russian people will within a few years have a standard of living, comfort and security comparable to any of the Western countries.—W. ARTHUR LEMIN, 6 Brampton Street, Ashton on Ribble, Preston, Lancs.

We have received several letters appreciating Sidney Lens' recent series. Anyone wishing to follow his travels and writing should take out a subscription to Liberation, to which he contributes as a co-editor (110 Christopher Street, New York 14; or from Housmans Bookshop in London).—ED.

The festive season

AT this festive season of the year when the words "peace and goodwill" are on everyone's lips, may we not spare a thought for the millions of animals to which Christmas brings a violent death. Exponents of non-violence and the gentle way of life can show their disapproval by

refusing to eat meat—at least during the Christmas season.

As Albert Schweitzer has so finely said: "Until we extend our circle of compassion to include every living creature we cannot enjoy world peace."—GORDON SADLER, London, N.1.

War on Want

THIS message is sent to the many readers of this happy journal who so splendidly answered when we called forth their charity:

In distant distressed lands overseas hunger has been appeased, limbs warmed and strengthened and the hearts' virtue restored.

Little children have been sheltered and saved from death by hunger, blind children have new hope by learning a trade. Little leprous feet have been rebuilt and shod. The aged have been taken into kindly care and peace of mind restored.

All this, and much more, you have helped to make possible by your support, by prayer and by faith in the future. In vibrant though humble voice we bless you.

This message is issued by the voluntary workers of War on Want.—FRANK HARCOURT-MUNNING (Administrator), 9 Madeley Rd., Ealing, London, W.5.

Peace and the Parties

I SOMETIMES wonder whether the critics of the Labour Party in these columns would not argue that the situation

Letters to the Editor

was unchanged even if the voting at the Scarborough Conference had been 100 per cent for the unilateral resolution.

The fact remains that the Scarborough Conference endorsed a unilateral resolution despite the intensive press campaign in favour of the Executive statement. The only pacifist and unilateralist MPs are in the Labour Party, and whilst they have to compromise, like the rest of us at times, their record is a very good one.

The situation at present demands that all those who want to take some positive action can do so in the Labour Party now.—DENIS BRIAN (LPF Secretary), 24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4.

HERMAN BRINKMAN

FAITHS and ideals live only by virtue of those who hold them, and no one who knew our lovable old colleague Herman Brinkman ever doubted that he was in the mainstream of the saints and sages.

A successful business man in Vienna, he had escaped the pre-war pogroms to find sanctuary among his humanitarian associates in Britain. Sanctuary closed into internment during the war years, but after 1945 he added British to his German citizenship and resumed, with Miss Lind af Hageby and others, the campaigning against cruelty for which he had been an internationally known figure in pre-Hitler Germany.

Ten years ago, at the age of 73, he offered his full time services to Peace News. With characteristic devotion and efficiency he set us all an example of enthusiasm and hard work. Nor did he miss any opportunity to expound his convictions. Happiness filled his latter years since his wife, Mia, was able to join him in England after years of enforced separation.

HARRY MISTER

HOW LABOUR MPs VOTED ON DEFENCE

THE following is the Opposition Motion on Defence which was debated on December 13:

"That this House, asserting the paramount need for multilateral disarmament, but meanwhile accepting the responsibilities involved in membership of the Western Alliance, regrets the failure of Her

McKay, John; McLeavy, Frank; MacPherson, Malcolm; Mallalieu, E. L.; Mapp, Charles; Marsh, Richard; Mason, Roy;

Mayhew, Christopher; Mellish, R. J.; Millan, Bruce; Mitchison, G. R.; Moody, A. S.; Morris, John; Mort, D. L.; Moyle, Arthur; Mulley, Frederick; Neal, Harold;

Noel-Baker, Francis; Noel-Baker, Rt. Hon. Philip; Oliver, G. H.; Paget, R. T.; Pannell, Charles; Pargiter, G. A.; Parker, John; Pearson, Arthur; Peart, Frederick; Pentland, Norman;

Ponlewell, Ernest; Prentice, R. E.; Price, J. T.;

The Guardian saw the following 44 Labour Members abstain from voting by remaining in their places during the division:

Abse, L.; Allaun, F.; Baxter, W.; Bowles, F. G.; Butler, Mrs. Joyce; Castle, Mrs. E.; Craddock, G.; Crossman, R.; Davies, H.; Davies, S. O.; Delargy, H. J.;

Driberg, T.; Edelman, M.; Edwards, R.; Foot, M.; Greenwood, A.; Griffiths, W.; Hughes, E.; Lee, Miss J.; Lipton, M.; Mackie, J.; Macmillan, M. K.;

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THE following is the Opposition Motion on Defence which was debated on December 13:

"That this House, asserting the paramount need for multilateral disarmament, but meanwhile accepting the responsibilities involved in membership of the Western Alliance, regrets the failure of Her Majesty's Government to put forward proposals for a balanced North Atlantic Treaty Organisation strategy in Europe and in particular for reducing undue reliance on nuclear weapons; to press for effective political control over the nuclear weapons of the West; and to obtain adequate British participation in the decisions governing the operation of missile-carrying submarines using facilities provided by this country."

The Motion was defeated by 163 votes to 318—a Government majority of 155. The following Labour MPs voted for the Motion:

Ainsley, William; Albu, Austen; Allen, Scholefield; Bacon, Miss Alice; Bellenger, Rt. Hon. F. J.; Bence, Cyril; Benson, Sir George; Blackburn, F.; Blyton, William; Bowden, Herbert W.;

Boyden, James; Braddock, Mrs. E. M.; Broughton, Dr. A. D. D.; Brown, Alan; Brown, Rt. Hon. George; Brown, Thomas; Butler, Herbert; Callaghan, James; Chetwynd, George; Cliffe, Michael;

Corbet, Mrs. Freda; Cronin, John; Cullen, Mrs. Alice; Darling, George; Davies, G. Elfed; Davies, Ifor; Deer, George; de Freitas, Geoffrey; Dempsey, James; Diamond, John;

Dodds, Norman; Donnelly, Desmond; Dugdale, Rt. Hon. John; Ede, Rt. Hon. Chuter; Edwards, Walter; Evans, Albert; Finch, Harold; Fitch, Alan; Fletcher, Eric; Foot, Dingle;

Forman, J. C.; Fraser, Thomas; Gaitskell, Rt. Hon. Hugh; George, Lady Megan Lloyd; Ginsburg, David; Gooch, E. G.; Gordon Walker, Rt. Hon. P. C.; Gourlay, Harry; Grey, Charles; Griffiths, David;

Griffiths, Rt. Hon. James; Gunter, Ray; Hall, Rt. Hon. Glenvil; Hamilton, William; Hannan, William; Hayman, F. H.; Healey, Denis; Henderson, Rt. Hon. Arthur; Herbison, Miss Margaret; Hewitson, Capt. M.;

Hill, J.; Hilton, A. V.; Holman, Percy; Houghton, Douglas; Howell, Charles A.; Hoy, James H.; Hughes, Cledwyn; Hughes, Hector; Hunter, A. E.; Hynd, John;

Irvine, A. J.; Irving, Sydney; Janner, Barnett; Jay, Rt. Hon. Douglas; Jeger, George; Jenkins, Roy; Johnson, Carol; Johnston, Douglas; Jones, Rt. Hon. A. Crech; Jones, Dan;

Jones, Jack; Kenyon, Clifford; Key, Rt. Hon. C. W.; King, Dr. Horace; Lawson, George; Lee, Frederick; Lever, Harold; Lever, L. M.; Loughlin, Charles; Mabon, Dr. J. Dickson;

McCann, John; MacColl, James; McInnes, James;

McKay, John; McLeavy, Frank; MacPherson, Malcolm; Mallalieu, E. L.; Mapp, Charles; Marsh, Richard; Mason, Roy;

Mayhew, Christopher; Mellish, R. J.; Millan, Bruce; Mitchison, G. R.; Moody, A. S.; Morris, John; Mort, D. L.; Moyle, Arthur; Mulley, Frederick; Neal, Harold;

Noel-Baker, Francis; Noel-Baker, Rt. Hon. Philip; Oliver, G. H.; Paget, R. T.; Pannell, Charles; Pargiter, G. A.; Parker, John; Pearson, Arthur; Pearl, Frederick; Pentland, Norman;

Popplewell, Ernest; Prentice, R. E.; Price, J. T.; Proctor, W. T.; Pursey, Cmdr. Harry; Randall, Harry; Redhead, E. C.; Reynolds, G. W.; Rhodes, H.; Roberts, Albert;

Robinson, Kenneth; Ross, William; Short, Edward; Skeffington, Arthur; Slater, Joseph; Small, William; Sorensen, R. W.; Soskice, Rt. Hon. Sir Frank; Steele, Thomas; Stewart, Michael;

Stones, William; Strachey, Rt. Hon. John; Strauss, Rt. Hon. G. R.; Stross, Dr. Barnett; Symonds, J. B.; Thomas, Iorwerth; Thomson, G. M.; Thornton, Ernest; Timmons, John; Ungood-Thomas, Sir Lynn;

Wainwright, Edwin; Wells, Percy; Wells, William; White, Mrs. Eirene; Whitlock, William; Wilcock, Group Captain C. A. B.; Wilkins, W. A.; Willsey, Frederick; Williams, W. R.; Willis, E. G.; Wilson, Rt. Hon. Harold; Woodburn, Rt. Hon. A.; Wyatt, Woodrow.

Also the two tellers for the Motion: Taylor, J.; Rogers, G. H. R.

This accounted for all but 90 of the Labour Members.

The Parliamentary correspondent of *The Times* and the Political correspondent of

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Abse, L.; Allau, F.; Baxter, W.; Bowles, F. G.; Butler, Mrs. Joyce; Castle, Mrs. E.; Craddock, G.; Crossman, R.; Davies, H.; Davies, S. O.; Delargy, H. J.;

Driberg, T.; Edelman, M.; Edwards, R.; Foot, M.; Greenwood, A.; Griffiths, W.; Hughes, E.; Lee, Miss J.; Lipton, M.; Mackie, J.; Macmillan, M. K.;

Mallalieu, J. P. W.; Manuel, A. C.; Mendelson, J. J.; Oram, A. E.; Parkin, B.; Pavitt, L.; Plummer, Sir L.; Rankin, J.; Reid, W.; Shinwell, E.; Silverman, S.;

Slater, Mrs. H.; Spriggs, L.; Stonehouse, J.; Swain, T.; Swingle, S.; Thomas, G.; Warbey W.; Weitzman, D.; Wigg, G.; Yates, V.; Zilliacus, K.

The Times also noticed:

Awberry, S.; Monslow, W.

The Guardian also noticed:

Hart, Mrs. J.; Kelley, R.; Galpern, M.

The Daily Telegraph also noticed:

McKay, J.; Probert, A. R.

Fifty-one Members were thus seen to abstain. Between 17 and 22 Members were paired because of absence through illness or visits abroad.

This left between 17 and 22 Labour MPs unaccounted for. Some of these may have been abstaining without actual participation in the sit-down demonstrations.

Emrys Hughes' alternative

THE following is the Amendment that Emrys Hughes, MP, put down for last week's Defence debate, but which was not called:

That the House "realises that there can be no real defence of the civil population of Great Britain in the event of nuclear war and no adequate control of US aircraft, submarines, and missiles operating from bases in this country; calls for the ending of all treaties and agreements with the USA that might involve us in war, and urges HM Government to prepare a four-year plan for total disarmament, including proposals for the ending of all foreign bases and the withdrawal of all foreign armies thus ending the arms race, relieving international tensions, and enabling all nations, now spending enormous sums on armaments, to devote their resources to improv-

ing the health, education, housing and standards of life of their people and to assisting the undeveloped areas of the world."

In a letter published in *The Guardian* on the day of the debate Emrys Hughes strongly criticised the Labour leadership's attitude to, and record on, the Polaris base at Holy Loch.

"Why," he concluded, "do not Mr. Gaitskell and the Shadow Cabinet come out strongly against the Polaris submarine? Is it because they are not really opposed to it or the strategy behind it?"

"If, as Mr. Healey has said, these 'are matters of life and death for the British people,' and the British people will not put up with it, why have Mr. Gaitskell and the Shadow Cabinet failed the British people when a strong stand against Polaris was so necessary?"

Ten years ago, at the age of 73, he offered his full time services to *Peace News*. With characteristic devotion and efficiency he set us all an example of enthusiasm and hard work. Nor did he miss any opportunity to expound his convictions. Happiness filled his latter years since his wife, Mia, was able to join him in England after years of enforced separation.

HARRY MISTER

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Letter from Egypt—I

POSTSCRIPT TO A WAR

By Irene Beeson

MEMORIES of the Suez campaign of 1956 are sufficiently fresh and sharp for the feeling of guilt and shame it gave me to be painfully acute at times.

When I came to Cairo two months ago I was prepared to be treated by the Egyptians with polite reserve. I expected to meet with some reticence or coldness or even, perhaps, hostility in some cases.

The morning after my arrival I set out to explore the city, which for many years had known British colonial rule. As I was walking down one of the main streets a young man came up to me. "Good morning," he said, smiling broadly, "what country are you from?"

I hesitated a moment. Would his friendly smile change to a polite semblance of one when I said I was from England? But the moment I told him, he clasped my hand in both of his and his smile widened even further. "Good, that is good," he said, "I am happy to welcome you to my country. I hope you will enjoy your stay and that you will like Egypt and my countrymen." His smile was contagious. I smiled, too, and we walked on together.

Good friends

Saad had been to England several times, had made good friends there, and was happy to talk to me about London and places he had visited. He advised me about what to do and what to see in Cairo, gave me his name and address, and begged me to let him know if there was anything he could do for me. As we parted he repeated, "Welcome to Egypt."

I soon found that this sort of thing happened several times a day and with Egyptians from all walks of life.

In the case of bazaar owners, street vendors and guides I told myself that their attitude might be dictated, partly at least by interest. For them the word tourist spells bread and butter and there have been very few English visitors here since 1956.



Shoukria, the elder of the two, was wearing new high-heeled shoes and was obviously suffering cruelly. "You are a stranger in Egypt, so we want to welcome you to our country and to help you," they insisted when I begged them to go home once I was on the right road. They would not hear of it and accompanied me to the bitter end. We exchanged addresses and Samira, the younger, invited me to visit her home the next day, insisting that she must come and fetch me at my hotel, half an hour's bus ride from where she lived.

"I want my parents and my sisters to

I have talked with Egyptian and other Arab friends about the past, the Suez war and present problems for which, rightly or wrongly, Britain is considered at least partly responsible. But there is never any criticism of the British people. No one considers them guilty. There is no bitterness, only sadness and regret. "It is a pity, a terrible pity, that England attacked us," they say, "but it is the past, now we must be friends and with the help of Allah there will be peace."

I think that old Rachid, owner of the Thousand and One Nights perfumery in a narrow lane in Old Cairo, summed up in

Four years ago Port Said was in ruins following the Anglo-French air offensive from October 31 to November 4, 1956, and the Suez Canal blocked.

ous perfumes and essences he sold in his boutique. I asked him how business was these days. "It is not very good," he said, smiling sadly. "You see, before 1956 we had many English and American customers, but now perhaps one or two each day, sometimes none. After Suez it was finished. I did not sell anything, so I went back to my village and slept for two years. No money to eat, so I slept."

He paused, then, gazing into the distance he said, still smiling, but almost in a whisper, as though he were thinking aloud: "It is so simple, you see. I just want to

happy to talk to me about London and places he had visited. He advised me about what to do and what to see in Cairo, gave me his name and address, and begged me to let him know if there was anything he could do for me. As we parted he repeated, "Welcome to Egypt."

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In the case of bazaar owners, street vendors and guides I told myself that their attitude might be dictated, partly at least by interest. For them the word tourist spells bread and butter and there have been very few English visitors here since 1956.

But there was the young man, a veterinary surgeon, in a very busy street in Old Cairo. He noticed that my companion and I were waiting for a tram at a stop that was no longer in use. He walked 50 yards or so down the street to tell us our mistake. He could have limited himself to showing us the right place to wait. But he, too, greeted us with the same warmth and pleasure, welcoming us to Egypt in his name and "on behalf of my country" and insisted on waiting until he had seen us safely on to the right tram.

Two pretty young girl students who heard me struggling in my limited Arabic to explain to a policeman that I was not looking for a Ministry but a library, offered with smiles and girlish giggles to help me. They spoke English charmingly and insisted on accompanying me all the way—a 20-minute walk in broiling heat.

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Shoukria, the elder of the two, was wearing new high-heeled shoes and was obviously suffering cruelly. "You are a stranger in Egypt, so we want to welcome you to our country and to help you," they insisted when I begged them to go home once I was on the right road. They would not hear of it and accompanied me to the bitter end. We exchanged addresses and Samira, the younger, invited me to visit her home the next day, insisting that she must come and fetch me at my hotel, half an hour's bus ride from where she lived.

"I want my parents and my sisters to meet my English friend," she said, bubbling over with excitement, "and you will give me addresses of girls in England. I must write to them so that we can all be friends."

Shooting at Sharpeville, by the Bishop of Johannesburg. Gollancz, 18s.

Education for Barbarism in South Africa, by I. B. Tabata. Pall Mall Press, 8s. 6d.

SHOOTING AT SHARPEVILLE is a detailed and disturbing anatomy of brutality. It is not politically sophisticated nor does it cast much new light on the South African crisis; indeed, in his attitude to the ruling minority, to the police and to the Pan-Africanists, Dr. Reeves, though honest and courageous, is not always clear nor consistent.

He is not, of course, a revolutionary (even to the degree that the Rev. Michael Scott is): he is (like so many of us) a rather confused liberal whose righteous anger has mounted to the degree that his political importance has increased.

Of course SHOOTING AT SHARPEVILLE is required reading for all those who, by birth or adoption, cherish the cause of anti-apartheid. The evidence is overwhelming that the massacre was the immediate result of stupidity, hysteria and brutal callousness; and that, in a wider context, it marked a new stage in the transformation of South Africa from autocracy to fascism—and revolution. Especially valuable are the photographs which tell the story more effectively than the detailed narrative and the evidence at the Commission of Inquiry.

Personally, I found this a peculiarly de-

I have talked with Egyptian and other Arab friends about the past, the Suez war and present problems for which, rightly or wrongly, Britain is considered at least partly responsible. But there is never any criticism of the British people. No one considers them guilty. There is no bitterness, only sadness and regret. "It is a pity, a terrible pity, that England attacked us," they say, "but it is the past, now we must be friends and with the help of Allah there will be peace."

I think that old Rachid, owner of the Thousand and One Nights perfumery in a narrow lane in Old Cairo, summed up in a few words the feelings and desires of the average Egyptian.

We had discussed the virtues of the vari-

ous perfumes and essences he sold in his boutique. I asked him how business was these days. "It is not very good," he said, smiling sadly. "You see, before 1956 we had many English and American customers, but now perhaps one or two each day, sometimes none. After Suez it was finished. I did not sell anything, so I went back to my village and slept for two years. No money to eat, so I slept."

He paused, then, gazing into the distance he said, still smiling, but almost in a whisper, as though he were thinking aloud: "It is so simple, you see. I just want to sell my *attar* of roses, I just want to live. Why don't you tell 'them' to finish with all those bombs and things? Just tell them to let the people live."

The frustration of liberalism

pressing book: it underlined, for me, the frustration of liberalism. All the Dr. Reeveses are left with is indignation. Their recommendations to the ruling minority about the "need for consultation"; about "the necessity of keeping separate the roles of police and army"; the need for "restraint in handling crowds"—what relevance have these naiveties in a pre-revolutionary situation?

Liberals and earnest churchmen may deplore and condemn and recommend; the future is, however, not theirs and they must increasingly occupy the sidelines of history while the author of the second book listed above, and his fellow African militants, step on to the centre of the stage.

I. B. Tabata, whom I met long ago and

far away when he was a leading theoretician of the extremist Non-European Unity Movement, has written a blazing analysis of the Bantu Education Act, demonstrating how the Nationalists' conception of the rôle of the races in South Africa is exemplified in their educational policies. Much of what he says will be familiar to *Peace News* readers, but I recommend his as an informative and, in contrast to Dr. Reeves' book, sophisticated account of the evils of apartheid.

Both volumes tell of massacre: SHOOTING AT SHARPEVILLE tells of a massacre of men; EDUCATION FOR BARBARISM IN SOUTH AFRICA tells of massacre of minds.

OLIVER CALDECOTT

NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

THE more Governments can be compelled by direct action to disarm and to give up conscription—even if they do so with the mental reservation that it is only for the time being—and the greater the numbers who refuse to take part in horizontal *international* and vertical *class* violence by either military service or economic, social and cultural collaboration, the more there will awaken a confidence in the non-violent methods of resistance, the less chance war has of breaking out, and the less the revolution risks falling back into traditional violence.

It is for example obvious that in a country like England where conscientious objection

and general strikes already have a certain tradition, where the significance of these methods has been admitted in congress after congress—and where even the unemployed loathe military service so much that the Government always has difficulty in keeping up the numbers of voluntary recruits—the great mass movements risk giving themselves to base violence much less than in countries where they have only a vague idea of what direct action means, or where the citizens are systematically taught the art of war and where all classes of society are permeated with romantic ideas about violence.—*Bart de Ligt*, THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE.

We have accepted dictatorship

Michael Foot's speech

The following extracts are from Michael Foot's speech in the Defence Debate in the House of Commons on December 13. He was speaking immediately after the opening speeches by Labour's Defence spokesman, Mr. George Brown, and the Minister of Defence, Mr. Harold Watkinson.

I THINK that what was said by Mr. George Brown might be summarised in this way. He said that political control over these terrible weapons is essential but we certainly have not got it.

Then I think that what the Minister of Defence said might be summarised in these words. He said that political control over these terrible weapons is essential, but we certainly cannot have it. It seems to me that that was his reply.

In view of the very powerful strictures of Mr. Brown on the present system of control, we are entitled to look at the present situation and to consider not what is the control to be exercised in some fanciful future when General Norstad has yielded to further pressure from Mr. Brown, but what is the position today.

One of the most sinister features of our society induced by the invention of these weapons is that political control, and, even more, anything which can properly be described as Parliamentary or democratic control, is corroded almost to the point of extinction.

When this country went to war in 1914, in 1939, or in Korea this House was able to meet and to weigh the great issues involved. That can never happen again in a world-wide conflict according to the conditions which have so far been accepted by this House.

It is the essence of the nuclear strategy that the decisions which govern all our lives shall be taken by a very few people, possibly even by one man. That is the very opposite of liberal or democratic debate.

Therefore, on the supreme question of all supreme questions, we have accepted the notion of dictatorship, and even dictatorship by a foreign Power. This astonishing statement of our condition today is

and the Minister of Defence say that the maintenance of the credibility of the deterrent must be put before all other claims, even the claim of this country to be a democracy or even the claim that we should govern ourselves through Parliament.

It is useless for hon. Members to deny that the maintenance of the absolute credibility of the deterrent robs Parliament of control over these machines.

Mr. Stephen McAdden: Why did the hon. Member support it?

Mr. Foot: Whether I supported something or not, I am simply talking about the facts.

Even if one descends from the question of the use of the weapon at the peak moment of crisis to lesser events—the so-called normal circumstances—we have not had anything like the amount of control that we should have done.

We have had incidents repeated exposing the situation three or four times. In the case of the U2 flight, the case of the RB47 flight, the case of the world-wide alert before the summit or in the case even of the Polaris affair more recently, the same procedure has been followed.

It is discovered that the process of consultation has not worked. There are quick exchanges between Washington and London. Consultations take place, assurances are given and a report is made to the House of Commons that the Prime Minister is absolutely satisfied with the situation but that it would not be in the public interest to divulge exactly what the agreement about consultation has been. This has been the experience on a number of

of each country, the United States, the Soviet Union and, I am sorry to say, of this country also, the question of the military advantage which they would secure by going on with yet another test was made superior to the question of calculating whether they could get a settlement.

That was an example of the weapons ruling the policy. It has been the same at pretty well every disarmament negotiation.

Who will deny that the choice of moments for negotiation, or the choice of issues for negotiation, has very often been determined by the respective calculations of the Russians, the Americans and ourselves of how a particular settlement at such a time would still leave them free to steal a military march on their opponents?

Time and again this has happened. Therefore, I say that these military machines not only have much more power but they have a momentum of their own which constantly interferes with the selection of the right moments of political negotiation.

It is the combination of these factors which makes me so impatient with those who talk in terms—as the Minister of Defence almost talked this afternoon—of the balance of terror, the nuclear stalemate, protecting us, as if the horrific nature of these weapons had somehow brought the possibility of universal peace within our grasp. If that were true, and anybody believed it, it would be a case against all forms of disarmament, unilateral or multilateral.

There may have been cases in the past when arms races were stopped by a last minute awakening of wisdom, though I cannot recall such cases. But this is an

arms race of such a different kind from any that we have had before, in the sense that nations are spending huge amounts more of their wealth proportionately on these weapons and they are giving proportionately hugely greater powers to the military machine.

So long as we (unilateralists) look at this scene and witness the insanities induced by the nuclear strategy; so long as we see influence over our affairs progressively removed from democratic assemblies; so long as we see the command over our policies removed to another nation—one which has surrendered a great deal of civilian power into military hands—so long as we see the military Frankensteins assuming authority not merely to dictate defence programmes but also foreign policy, the more we will be convinced that there is no military way of checking these dangers, much less a military solution for them.

Foreign policy

The only solution to this problem lies in the field of foreign policy, but our possibilities of developing a new foreign policy are stultified by our defence policy and by our increasing reliance for the pre-eminent weapons on another nation. That prevents us from having the foreign policy that might provide the only solution.

But, fortunately for the honour of this country, there is a great and growing number of people throughout the land who are protesting against the policies pursued by the Government, sometimes supported by the official Opposition, who are protesting against the suffocation of democratic responsibilities which goes on in this matter, and they have every right to do so.

We who agree with their views have every right and, indeed, every duty to state our views on the Floor of this House, the most famous Parliamentary assembly in the world.

'AN INDEFENSIBLE POSITION'

Says Jo. Grimond

The following are extracts from the speech made by the Leader of the Liberal Party.

THOSE who support unilateralism on moral grounds . . . have moral scruples against any form of reliance

weapon with which they could have retaliated on New York, the Americans would have bombed them?

Suppose Hitler had nuclear weapons before the war. I sometimes wonder what hon. Gentlemen would have said in those

1939, or in Korea this House was able to meet and to weigh the great issues involved. That can never happen again in a world-wide conflict according to the conditions which have so far been accepted by this House.

It is the essence of the nuclear strategy that the decisions which govern all our lives shall be taken by a very few people, possibly even by one man. That is the very opposite of liberal or democratic debate.

Therefore, on the supreme question of all supreme questions, we have accepted the notion of dictatorship, and even dictatorship by a foreign Power. This astonishing statement of our condition today is little more than a platitude.

The Prime Minister says that, above all else and at all costs, the credibility of the deterrent must be kept burnished and unmistakable. If that is the case, it means that at the final moment of crisis all the shackles of control and consultation have to be swept aside.

What it means is that the Government

situation three or four times. In the case of the U2 flight, the case of the RB47 flight, the case of the world-wide alert before the summit or in the case even of the Polaris affair more recently, the same procedure has been followed.

It is discovered that the process of consultation has not worked. There are quick exchanges between Washington and London. Consultations take place, assurances are given and a report is made to the House of Commons that the Prime Minister is absolutely satisfied with the situation but that it would not be in the public interest to divulge exactly what the agreement about consultation has been. This has been the experience on a number of occasions.

Mr. Brown said that the proper remedy for this disease was to get much better control and much better forms of consultation. That is certainly a commendable desire.

He and others, however, must face the fact that it may be unattainable because of the nature of the beast, because of the essential core of the nuclear strategy. Indeed, the Minister of Defence himself almost said as much. The more one increases the measure of control, the more one may blunt the effectiveness of the deterrent.

CND's strength

One of the main reasons for the strength of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament outside this House is that it represents a surge of democratic protest against the system of dictatorship controlling our destinies which appears to have been too tamely accepted in too many quarters.

There is another factor in the situation which adds greatly to our peril. Not only is the authority of Parliaments impaired to increase the authority of the military machines, but the military machines have a momentum of their own. The weapons are very often in command.

I dare say that in the days of gunpowder or of the invention of bows and arrows, this affected which tribes or nations became aggressive or stayed on the defensive. More than ever before in history, however, I should have thought that anyone would agree that the weapons are now almost indisputable masters, not only over the field of strategy and tactics, but over the field of policy itself.

We have to remember what happened in the lengthy and tortuous negotiations about stopping H-bomb tests. In the case

where arms races were stopped by a last minute awakening of wisdom, though I cannot recall such cases. But this is an

our views on the floor of this House, the most famous Parliamentary assembly in the world.

'AN INDEFENSIBLE POSITION'

Says Jo. Grimond

The following are extracts from the speech made by the Leader of the Liberal Party.

THOSE who support unilateralism on moral grounds . . . have moral scruples against any form of reliance on nuclear weapons, yet, curiously, they seem to contemplate resistance by our conventional forces alone, not backed by nuclear weapons.

This seems to me an indefensible position. It seems to me that the Russians would use nuclear weapons if they were free from any threat of retaliation, and would simply end the war by using sufficient nuclear weapons to bring the enemy to their knees.

Mr. Sydney Silverman: How does the hon. Gentleman know that?

Mr. Grimond: By reading what the Russians say and considering what the Americans did to Japan. On the other hand, if unilateralists do not contemplate committing conventional forces against the Russians, what is the point of having these conventional forces? It would be far better to have nothing but a police force.

Strong case

I believe that the argument for unilateralism leads directly to pacifism. There is a very strong case for pacifism. It is a simple case based on this, that the risk, not the certainty, of the Russians or any other aggressive nation coming here is more acceptable than the risk of nuclear war.

It is time that we met this argument, because it is a serious one, and I am glad to have a debate in which it can be raised.

I feel that the arguments against pacifism are strong. First, the deterrent does stop war: it is effective. I have asked before, and I ask hon. Gentlemen again, if they can really say that, supposing that the Japanese had had an effective nuclear

weapon with which they could have retaliated on New York, the Americans would have bombed them?

Suppose Hitler had nuclear weapons before the war. I sometimes wonder what hon. Gentlemen would have said in those days.

Another powerful argument against pacifism is that if we were now to abandon all nuclear weapons we should throw away any chance of arms control and disarmament.

At present, there does seem a chance that both Russia and America realise, in the famous phrase, that "enough is enough." They are not making an all-out effort for superiority, and, if they are not disarming, at least they are toying with the idea of control and inspection.

All that would vanish if we suddenly unilaterally disarmed. One thing is certain about the Communists. They believe, I am afraid, not in sweet reason, but in force.

If they are to disarm, they will do so because they see an advantage in doing so, and if the West is already disarmed what possible advantage could they get?

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Heroes of the Deep South

BY JACK SHEPHERD

THE *Peace Calendar* for 1961 published by the US War Resisters' League is dedicated to the country's Southern students who in the spring of 1960 participated in the heroic "sit-in movement" which deeply stirred the nation, and indeed sensitive people all over the world.

This well-produced diary has on the fly-leaves illustrations which will arrest the attention particularly of modern artists, and in the body of the calendar dates to remember. It is sobering to be reminded that as recently as January 3, 1957, six citizens flogged a white teacher who backed school integration in South Carolina, and each week shows something equally mortifying, besides the glimpses of hope that have emerged through the years, and quotes from Negro and other leaders.

To freedom

A year from now those who use the diary will be confronted by the words of Thomas Garrett, the Delaware Quaker repeatedly fined for helping escaped slaves to freedom: "Judge, thou hast left me not a dollar, but I wish to say to thee and to all in this courtroom that if anyone knows a fugitive who wants a shelter and a friend, send him to Thomas Garrett!"

A year from now who knows what changes will have taken place? There is good

Holy Loch, the Bomb, World War III... LABOUR, CND AND CHURCHES PUT SCOTLAND IN FERMENT

THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE CHURCHES HAVE BEEN ROUSED TO UNPRECEDENTED ACTIVITY IN SCOTLAND IN THE PAST FEW DAYS. IT IS CLEAR THAT OPPOSITION TO THE POLARIS BASE AT HOLY LOCH IS ONLY JUST BEGINNING.

In a letter to *The Guardian* on Monday, Emrys Hughes, MP, explained the widespread character of the protest. He was replying to the Labour Member for Southampton, Itchen—Dr. Horace King:

"I wonder what Dr. Horace King would have said if Mr. Macmillan had announced that Polaris would be given facilities not in the Holy Loch but in Southampton Water

"And if the announcement had been received with a storm of protests from his constituents and had been opposed by the Southampton Labour Party, by the local trade unions, by the city councils, by the county councils in the area (including Tory-dominated ones), by prominent leaders of the Christian Churches, and by the overwhelming majority of people who could claim to speak for public opinion in the area—would he have welcomed it as the latest 'new method of nuclear defence'?"

"What sort of ivory tower does Dr. Horace King live in? He does not even know what is going on in the Parliamentary Labour Party if he thinks that the opposition to Mr. Gaitskell's policy is confined to 'a dozen members.'"

Labour unanimous

"WE know there are those," said George Middleton, General Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, last Sunday "who are for Polaris in principle but against having the base on the Holy Loch.

race, and to fight Communism, not with bombs and deterrents but with dynamic and positive ideology.

He claimed that war of any kind was evil, creating more problems than it solved; and that this was not pacifism—it was the evidence of history.

The talks have been given by people who disagree in many things, but all of whom feel strongly that in this situation the Church must not remain silent.

On Thursday of last week the talk was given by the Very Rev. Dr. George MacLeod, who argued that non-violent resistance was going to be the central tenet of the new reformation. It was the kernel of the Gospel, he claimed.

"This is the first age in all Christian history," he continued, "where the majority of Christians have no conscience at all, no principle, nothing to go on, except fear and political consideration."

Tracing the degeneration of the Christian conscience during the twentieth century, he came to the 1936 report of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It said that while they regretfully might still have to support war, if Britain deliberately bombed civilians, the Church would withdraw their support of the war even at the cost of defeat.

"Came the war," said Dr. MacLeod, "and in one night we killed, before the

atom bomb, 240,000 men, women and children in the streets of Dresden."

"The Gospel and the Bomb" talks have been organised by Rev. H. C. Whitley, minister of St. Giles' Cathedral.

Further news of the Church in Scotland and war will appear in *Peace News* next week.

Parliament again

IN the House of Commons last Friday the Polaris base was debated on a Motion by Harold Davies, MP: "That this House deplores the decision of Her Majesty's Government to agree to the basing of Polaris submarines or missiles in Great Britain."

After nearly five hours of debate the Motion was defeated by 46 votes to 164 against. Several pro-NATO Labour MPs were prominent in their abstentions, but most avoided the debate.

Among many interruptions and warm debate, Harold Davies quoted words from Senator Kennedy's recent book, *THE STRATEGY OF PEACE*:

"Already our total destructive capacity is sufficient to annihilate the enemy twenty-five times over—he has the power to destroy us ten times. Between us we are in a position to exterminate all human life seven times over. The nuclear load in only one of our B-52s now in the air—at this minute—somewhere above us or over the Arctic—is said to be greater in terms of destructive power than all the explosives used in all the previous wars in human history."

CHRISTMAS ON THE MARCH

years, and quotes from Negro and other leaders.

To freedom

A year from now those who use the diary will be confronted by the words of Thomas Garrett, the Delaware Quaker repeatedly fined for helping escaped slaves to freedom: "Judge, thou hast left me not a dollar, but I wish to say to thee and to all in this courtroom that if anyone knows a fugitive who wants a shelter and a friend, send him to Thomas Garrett!"

A year from now who knows what changes will have taken place? There is good cause for hope when we think of the willingness of those Southern students to accept insult, injury and prison without bitterness and retaliation.

Copies of the 1961 peace calendar can be obtained from the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, New York City 38 (price \$1.25); or from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1 (price 9s.).

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

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Horace King live in? He does not even know what is going on in the Parliamentary Labour Party if he thinks that the opposition to Mr. Gaitskell's policy is confined to 'a dozen members.'

Labour unanimous

"WE know there are those," said George Middleton, General Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, last Sunday "who are for Polaris in principle but against having the base on the Holy Loch.

"We have nothing in common with that kind of parochialism. We are against having Polaris in principle. Our opposition is unqualified, it is unequivocal."

And this utterance was endorsed by the audience of more than 2,000 people in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, at a public meeting called by the three wings of the Labour movement in Glasgow. A unanimous resolution was passed demanding the withdrawal of the Polaris base.

Other speakers at the meeting included MPs Anthony Greenwood, Emrys Hughes and Judith Hart.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has also been holding major rallies in Edinburgh, Glasgow and other cities.

No silent Church

THE minds of Christians are being well exercised. On December 12 a series of ten lunch-time talks (in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh) on "The Gospel and the Bomb" was opened by the Rev. Graham Hardy, who called on the Church to denounce war, unite to halt the nuclear arms

Tracing the degeneration of the Christian conscience during the twentieth century, he came to the 1936 report of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It said that while they regretfully might still have to support war, if Britain deliberately bombed civilians, the Church would withdraw their support of the war even at the cost of defeat.

"Came the war," said Dr. MacLeod, "and in one night we killed, before the

strategy of peace." "Already our total destructive capacity is sufficient to annihilate the enemy twenty-five times over—he has the power to destroy us ten times. Between us we are in a position to exterminate all human life seven times over. The nuclear load in only one of our B-52s now in the air—at this minute—somewhere above us or over the Arctic—is said to be greater in terms of destructive power than all the explosives used in all the previous wars in human history."

CHRISTMAS ON THE MARCH

Peace News Reporter

THE Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament march across Lancashire and Yorkshire leaves Liverpool on Christmas Day.

The Youth Campaign wants it emphasised, a spokesman told *Peace News* on Tuesday, that this is a mobile campaign and not simply a march. There will be campaigning at pitheads and cotton mills along the route.

The YCND has also decided to hold two conferences—one in the North, the other in the South—on "Planning for Aldermaston" in order to help produce two larger and better marches next Easter.

The first conference will be in Hull on the morning of New Year's Day. The previous evening the coast to coast march will have reached Hesselwood and marchers will be transported into Hull for the night. There will be a party that evening in "The Red Cellar," the Young Socialists' premises. Next morning the conference will be attended by people from all over England as well as the marchers.

The second conference will take place in

St. Pancras Town Hall, London, on Sunday afternoon, January 8. Between these two conferences the Combined Universities' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will hold its annual general meeting in London at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall.

Further details of the coast to coast march appear in the PN dairy on page two.

Briefly

Claude Eatherley, the former US Air Force pilot who gave the signals to drop the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was arrested on Monday and was being returned to the mental hospital from which he had escaped.

Israel's atomic bomb—or recent evidence that Israel is developing with the assistance of France the capacity to produce atomic weapons—is being studied by US Government officials "with mounting concern," *The New York Times* reported on Monday.

